# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Men, at some time, are masters of their fates:
" The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
" But in ourselves, that we are Underlings."



TO THE

## CITIZENS OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

Oppression, or insult, when the object is *helpless*, never fails to excite against the oppressor, the indignation of the generous and the just; but, when the object is *not* helpless, when he who suffers oppression, or insult, has within himself, the power of obtaining complete redress, and makes no use of that power, then, that same justice, which in the former case, calls forth our indignation against the oppressor, calls for our contempt of the oppressed. In truth, it would be absurd for a third party to compassionate the wretch who should seem fond of being kicked; and not less absurd to be angry with the man who should kick him. The parties would, in such case, seem to be made for one another; and the world ought to let them alone. When, therefore, we talk of oppressions of a political nature, when we talk of an oppressed and insulted people, we should be careful to ascertain beforehand, that the said people do not deserve to be oppressed and insulted; that they have not the power of redress in their own hands: that they have not themselves put the power of oppression into the hands of their oppressors; and, in short, that they do not by their actions, shew, that justice makes no demand of compassion in their favour, but condemns them to the contempt of mankind.

If, gentlemen, you assent to the truth of these general propositions, you will, I hope, suffer me to ask you, Whether you yourselves are quite free from the danger of their application? I beg you to put the question to yourselves; each of you to ask himself, whether it be in him, or in his stars, that he is an Underling, the degraded instrument in the hands of greedy and impudent speculators upon the public spoil; and whether it be not *now* in his own power to obtain complete redress, for past, and as complete security against future, oppression and insult?

It is denied by no one, that the situation of this kingdom is awfully dangerous. Even the vile wretches (certainly the very vilest of mankind), who are hired to put forth falsehoods for the purpose of deluding the people; even these wretches, who have, for months passed, amused the ignorant with hopes of a new war between France and Austria, and who have talked of the firmness and dignified tone of the latter power; even these awkward as well as venal wretches, who asserted that the Emperor Napoleon was *insane*, and who, as if to prove their own mental derangement, told us, that he must *cease to reign* if he was mad; even these wretches, profligately impudent as they are, have not the impudence to deny, that this kingdom is now in danger *greater than it ever before had to contend with*. They talk of its *prosperity*, and they triumphantly compare its situation with that of *other countries;* but still they are compelled to acknowledge the existence of the danger; and, it would be quite impossible for them to point out any nation upon the earth, exposed to such danger. The more we possess the more we have to lose; in number equal to that of our enjoyments are our wants; nor does it require much reflection to convince any reasonable man, that, if this country were to be subdued, those amongst us who live in luxury would suffer the most. It is not possible for any man but a mad man, or a natural fool, or some one who is partly one and partly the other, not to see the danger now hanging over us; and, it is not possible for any one, who is not a sensual brute that cares not what becomes of the country so that he can gratify his never-satiated appetites; it is impossible for any one, except a brute like this, not to feel great anxiety on account of this danger. We see kingdom after kingdom falling at the feet of the Conqueror; we see him returning from the subjugation of one empire, to begin, or, rather, to finish the subjugation of another, where even a detachment of his mighty army has discomfitted and pursued all that we have been able to raise up against him; we see him in pos-

session of all the naval ports and means of continental Europe; we see him with all the facilities of doubling in a year the amount of his navy, already large; we see him, in this last act of pacification, not forgetting his war with us, and his means of assailing us; and, what is of more consequence than all the rest put together, we see, in our government, those qualities which he has met with in the governments, which he has overturned and annihilated, and moreover, while we see, in our rulers, the same pertinacious adherence to that of which the great mass of people so justly complain, we see, amongst too many of ourselves, that coldness, that listlessness, that indifference, that want of public spirit, which of all symptoms is the most alarming, because it denotes, that there is wanting the *only* thing by which a nation can finally be saved. Much of big talk have you, Gentlemen, lately heard from the Curtises and the Dixons and the Jackses; much about a *contrast* between this nation and the fallen nations of the continent of Europe; but, I do beseech you to bear in mind, that there is not one; no, *not one*; not any single nation or state amongst them, which has not, in its turn, been the object of the praises, of *the applause and admiration of these your city courtiers*; these your smooth-tongued place-hunters. Every one of these fallen nations has, first or last, been the *ally* of England; all their rulers have, in their turn, been praised for their *wisdom* and their *piety*; their kings have all been ardently *beloved by their people*, and their queens have all been *amiable and virtuous*; their people have all been devoted to their "*holy* "*altars*," have been full of "*loyalty*," and have *mortally hated the French*. Is not this so? Have you not been told this? Has not this been dinned in your ears even to the danger of stunning? Yet, all these nations have fallen before the conqueror; all these nations with their pious kings, amiable and virtuous queens, wise governments, and people happy, contented, religious, loyal and hating the French, have all, one after another, yielded to those same French, who have not only beaten them in the field, but have revolutionized their governments, and, in most cases, have furnished them with new sovereigns. Well, then, what becomes of this *contrast*, so fashionable with your city orators? They tell you, for instance, of what Holland is *now*; but, they do not remind you of what they told you about Holland *before* it was subdued by France. In short, this is the truth of the matter: such as they describe England to you now, they have, each in its turn, described those nations to be, which they *now* bid you look at as objects of triumphant comparison; whereas, if they wished you to derive any benefit from their observations, they would bid you *beware*, for that all those nations, who, but a little while ago, were, according to their account, *what England now is*, have now been *subdued by the enemy of England*.

Folly and wickedness, which are, generally in the end, their own chastisers, do, nevertheless, sometimes derive benefit, or, at least, temporary impunity, from their long continuance. So has it happened with respect to the folly and the wickedness of those, who at the end of a seventeen year's contest for "security," have brought us into a situation, in which we not only are not secure, but in which we have not left the smallest chance of seeing security provided for the times of our children. This contest has continued so long, and so numerous have been the follies and the acts of wickedness, on the part of those who have had a principal share in it, that the public, weary with attempting to preserve a recollection of them, content themselves with a retrospect of a few months, the catalogue for which time is, indeed, quite sufficient to occupy any ordinary mind.

Were it not for this circumstance, it surely would be unnecessary for me to remind the Citizens of London of the share which *they* have had in causing all those measures to be adopted, which have most powerfully contributed towards the bringing of us into our present disgraceful state, and the still-operating effect of which measures will, like that of a fever in its last stages, press daily upon the vitals of the nation with accelerated force. There was no folly, no egregious folly, nor any vice, in the undertaking or the conducting of this contest, in which you did not eminently share. To you, from long habit, the other parts of the kingdom looked for example; and, instead of giving them an example of wariness in listening to the insinuations of an artful minister, or his minions, you gave them an example of seemingly wilful cullibility. In short, you became, and continued, the mere puppets in the hands of the minister of the day. You sanctioned all he did; you joined him in all his undertakings; you hissed or you clapped as he commanded.

You shouted for joy when he bade you shout; and you wept, or affected to weep, when he bade your tears flow. No pump, no anvil, no bit of dough or of dirt, was ever more completely at the command of the possessor, than you were at the command of the minister and his underlings; and, it was reserved for this reign, in honour of which we have just witnessed a Jubilee, and for the "*blessings*" of which there are men to be found to "thank God," and apparently, without dreading any chastisement; this reign, which will be distinguished, in the history of England (if England shall hereafter have a history), by its calamities and its disgraces, civil as well as military; it was reserved for this reign to see the Citizens of London, distinguished in all former times for their good sense, and particularly for their firmness in resisting acts of oppression; yes, it was reserved for this reign to see the Citizens of London not only become the dull and stupid tools of a minister in giving currency to all his doctrines relative to war and peace, but to suffer him to assault the liberties of the country, to see, in silence, the suspension of laws made for the protection of the people, and other laws passed creating new political offences, and, to your everlasting shame be it recorded, you openly applauded the persecution of those few Englishmen, who had the courage to make a stand in the cause of that freedom, to preserve which for you your fathers had fought and bled. To you this nation has a right to look for no small part of all its losses of every sort. Against your voice the fatal measures never could have been adopted; nor, indeed, could they have been adopted without your *approbation* actively given. You might have prevented all those measures; and, therefore, I repeat, that to you the nation has a right to look as to the authors, or, at least, the joint authors, of all that it now suffers, and all that reason bids it anticipate. If the Citizens of London had acted with only common spirit, is it to be believed, that things would have come to their pass? But, such has been their tameness, nay, their cowardice, that, at last (until very lately) they have become an object of so much contempt, that the minister of the day appears to have doubted, whether they were worth using any longer; and, upon two or three occasions, the offer of their services seemed to be scarcely accepted of. I am aware, that it has, in your defence, been urged, that the City of London is not what it formerly was;—— that the *merchants* and *tradesmen*, properly so called, have, in consequence of the increase of the government debt and the Pitt-system of banking, and especially by the erection of a new power in the East India Company, been, in a great measure, put aside, and that the persons now calling themselves "*The City of London*," are a set of contractors, brokers, jews, jobbers, nabobs, and seat-dealers, the interest of every wretch of whom it is to create and support pretences for expending the public money, and to prevent, by all means, and at any risk to the national welfare, every one guilty of any act of public-robbery, great or small;——that, such is the influence, and, indeed, the direct power, of this numerous swarm of keen and indefatigable enemies of the country, that all attempt at resistance is vain;—— and that, seeing that it was from these wretches that proceeded all the support that was given to the measures that have produced our present danger, the *Citizens of London* are not without discrimination to be blamed.

To this I answer, that, if the persons to be influenced, or domineered over, were *few in number*, it would not be, with me, a matter of much surprise, that the real voice of the City should be stifled. But, when it is well known, that the Livery of London consist of, at least, from ten to *twelve thousand*, is not the City of London, without any discrimination, to be charged with the principles of Curtis, Shaw, Birch, and the like? It is in vain to talk; for, if *ten thousand* of the principal people in the City can be *influenced*, the blame lies upon the people of the City much more than upon those by whom they are influenced. As if, however, this were not enough, whereon to convict the Citizens of London of having been the cause of their country's ruin, there is, annually, an opportunity for them to express their sentiments, in a manner, which, if they do not express them with effect, leaves them no excuse whatever. I allude to the election of persons to represent them in *Common Council*, and, in which election every Citizen *householder* has a voice. Here, then, we have every man to vote, who, upon any occasion, ought ever to be permitted to vote. These Citizen Householders amount, perhaps, to a *hundred thousand* in number; and, therefore, if *influence* can prevail here, the mass is too corrupt ever to be cured.

The fact is, that corrupt influence does not prevail here; but, there is something, which, in its effects, is full as fatal, that does prevail, and that is, *indifference*, which, in this case, is quite inexcusable, because a proper choice is, in a few weeks, perhaps, visible in its good consequences. Much has been taken away from you; the City of London, as well as the rest of the kingdom, has felt the effects of the Pitt system; but, this right of choosing your representatives in the Common Council still remains to you; that is not taken away; you possessed that before the Jubilee-reign commenced, and, by great good luck, you still possess it; and, if you fail to exercise it, and that, too, with a view to the advantage of the nation at large, you act neither a wise nor an honourable part; and, you should always bear in mind, that, as you have it in your *power* to put down, by your voice, legally expressed, the combination of contractors, jobbers, jews, nabobs, and seat-dealers, every evil resulting from the existence of that nefarious combination is fairly ascribeable *to you*, and that, against this charge, all your professions of patriotism will not weigh as a feather.

The most contemptible of all the characters drawn by the pen, is the waggoner, praying to Hercules to get his waggon out of the mire. "Get up, lay your whip to the "horses, clapping your own shoulder to "the wheel, at the same time, and *then* "Hercules will help you." To be sure; and, is it not proper to give an answer similar to this to all those Citizen Householders of London, who either do not vote at all for members of the Common Council, or who, voting, are indifferent, or nearly indifferent, as to the objects of their choice; is it not just to give them an answer similar to this, when they are complaining of the prodigality in the public expenditure, the shameless waste in all the departments, and of the death and destruction of so many of our countrymen, without any good purpose whatever being thereby answered? When such people complain of the *weight of taxes*; of the almost incessant harrassing, teazing, and tormenting, that they undergo, from the visits, and, still more, from the constantly apprehended visits, of the taxgatherers of various descriptions; of the examinations and cross-examinations, of the accusations, the reproaches, the brow-beatings, and all the endless variety of affronts and insults, which they are compelled to put up with in silence, upon pain of being half-ruined; when such people thus complain, is it not just to laugh in their face, to flout and jeer them, and treat them, in short, with every species of contempt? "What can *one* man do?" Oh! silly question. Yet, not so silly as it is insincere; for, who puts such a question to himself, when some object of private gain, pleasure, or convenience; when an object of self-gratification of any sort is pointed out to him, if, indeed, such objects did not crowd upon him fast enough of themselves? "What can *one* man do?" never seems to occur to those who are going to a fair, a market, a ball, a play, or on any other pursuit of gain or of pleasure. This question, so often put, arises, be assured, not from a want of understanding; but from a want of zeal, or, rather, from a want of public spirit and public principle. Were the thing practicable, I should like to put, verbally, to each individual of you, this question:—*Do you believe, that, if the whole of the Common Council consisted of men of* Mr. Waithman's *spirit and principles, the abuses of which you complain would soon be removed?* My opinion is, that, if this question were put to every man of you, you would, without a moment's hesitation, answer in the affirmative. My opinion is, that this would be your answer with as thorough a conviction as you entertain of your existence; and what excuse, therefore, is there for your apathy; for your wilful neglect of so important a duty?

The history of our country shews, that it is the capital that must *lead* the rest of the kingdom. It is in reason and in nature that it should be; but, the fact is, that London has always taken the lead. Thus it will still be; and, therefore, it is not at all matter of surprize, that every minister of the king should endeavour to gain over the City of London to his side, and especially that a corrupt minister should do this; that he should bestow places upon some, pensions upon others, gew-gaw titles upon others, and that he should give his supporters in the City contracts, jobs, and patronage. These are formidable means; but even means like these cannot corrupt a hundred thousand men, and, of course, they can have no very great effect in an election of the *Common Council*, which, if well constituted, consisting as it does of more than *two hundred persons*, would, in a short time, produce an effect, of the extent of which few persons are aware. In short it ap-

pears very clearly to me, that, without any assistance, from any quarter whatever, you have it in your power to lay the certain foundation of that *reform*, without which it is my thorough conviction, that this nation will soon have nothing to boast of more than its late allies upon the continent.

I have not the vanity to suppose, that, with those who could chuse men like the Dixons, who, by their city oratory, have notoriously gained places for sons; or with those who could vote for a man, who makes an open defence of corruption, having, at the same time, a contract for making great coats for the army water-proof; nor, indeed, have I the vanity to suppose, that any thing to be said by me is capable of inducing one of you to do that which you otherwise would not be disposed to do; but, of this I am certain, that, unless the Common Council of London be composed of men of sound political principles, there is no ground whatever for your complaining of any hardship proceeding from the government, and that, if every farthing of your earnings were taken from you in taxes, to be given to nabobs, contractors, or to be thrown into the wells and down the mountains of Spain, you would not be an object of the compassion of any rational man. You sin, in such case, not only against the light and *without temptation;* but, against the memorable example, the noble example, of your ancestors, who, in the cause of freedom, always stood foremost, taught the nation how to think and how to act; and who, whether the dispute was decided by the pen or the sword, always prevailed.

I am, Gentlemen, Your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

*Botley, Thursday, 9 Nov.* 1809.

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## THE JUBILEE.

Sir;—When it was first hinted that the day his majesty entered into the 50th year of his reign, was to be publicly observed by the country, it naturally struck me, that it was to be set apart, as a day of Fasting and Humiliation, on account of the depressed state of the country, both internally and externally in relation to foreign connections, when compared with what it was when George the Second died. With this idea I was much pleased; but, when I understood it was to be a Jubilee we were to celebrate, my mind filled with the grandeur of such a glorious prospect, became quite entranced, and, supposing it to be such a Jubilee as that kept by divine authority among God's ancient people the Jews, I imagined I saw on this happy day consigned to oblivion all those laws, which within the last fifty years have been enacted, to restrain the Liberty of the Subject, entrammel the Press, and hold in fetters the opinions of men:—I saw repealed the various Taxes which have in that period been imposed upon the people, and which bow down to the ground the industrious mechanic; I fancied I saw the labourer and the people in the middle walks of life, restored to the same happy state they were in fifty years ago, when the labour of two days procured them as much of the necessaries of life as three days labour yields at present; I imagined I saw children whom the pressure of the times compelled prematurely to labour for a scanty sustenance in cotton mills and other public works to the injury of their health, and destruction of their morals, indulging themselves in innocent amusements and healthful recreations, their pale and emaciated visages assuming a blythe and vigorous aspect, the time they formerly stole from sleep to learn some smattering of reading, devoted to its natural purpose, and their minds aroused from a state of ignorance and apathy, stored with sound instruction and virtuous morality, and fitting them to become useful members of society.—I saw the Poor, which this war for the deliverance of Europe has increased beyond all calculation, diminished to a scanty few, as was the case in the reign of George the Second, and these decently supported by what was wantonly thrown away on pampering courtly lords, whose service to the public consists in signing a receipt for their Pensions.—I saw bursting open to view a glorious reformation in Ireland, an obliteration of religious animosities, an establishment of national schools like Scotland, and an universal diffusion of knowledge and learning. I saw upon this auspicious day the Constitution restored to its primitive excellence, the People reinstated in their just rights, every householder who paid direct Taxes for the support of the state exercising the elective franchise, and an end put to that shameful and scandalous trafficking of Seats in Parliament, which bears so striking a resemblance to the buying and selling of cattle in a market.—I fancied that his majesty, to stamp with greater celebrity this glorious Jubilee, and to shew the impartiality of his proceedings,

ordered the Privy Council Books to be brought him, and with his own hand erased from that honourable and reverend body the names of those artful and ambitious men, who playing upon the credulity of the people, raised the cry of No Popery to cover their designs upon the Liberty of the Subject and the Treasure of the Country, but who have since proclaimed to the world their own hypocrisy, by trampling upon all laws both human and divine.—I saw driven from the royal presence Jews, Contractors, and the whole herd of servile fawning beings, who neither love his majesty nor his people; hypocrites who would join the cry of No Popery in Britain, and in Spain drink a speedy deliverance to the Roman pontiff, at whose degraded state every friend of true religion and humanity rejoices, and for which the prayers of the godly have for centuries been put up.—In fine, I saw a medal struck by the unanimous desire of the people in commemoration of this new era of happiness, having on one side the image of his majesty, and on the other "George the Third, the Restorer of the Purity of Parliament and Deliverer of the People."

——But this pleasing dream, this enchanting delusion was soon exchanged for melancholy reflection, at finding those happy prospects were but phantoms of the imagination, which possessed neither shape nor form; at learning that the word Jubilee had lost its original meaning, and that by it was not meant a restoration to the state the country was in fifty years ago, a deliverance from a heavy load of taxation, from gagging statutes, from test acts; and an abolition of religious distinctions, and reformation in parliament. But that, under cover of that cheering sound, that host of moths and muckworms, the Jews, the Contractors, &c. (leeches who suck the blood and fatten upon the vitals of the country, who would, like their brethren in Vienna, and Warsaw, be ready to make a statue to Napoleon if in London, and hold a Jubilee in honour of the battle which hurled from the throne the reigning family,) had prostituted it for other purposes, to divert the public from enquiring into the corruption and peculation which enriched them, from investigating into the causes of the misfortunes attending our Expeditions, to draw away their attention from the enormous expenditure, the effects of which we shall shortly feel, to drown the cries and tears of parents for their children, widows for their husbands, and children for their fathers, to give a colour of approbation and sanction to those men and measures which have reduced the country to its present perilous condition.—Such, then, being the intention of those turtle patriots and Jubilee makers, whether in Warsaw, Naples, Vienna, or London, it becomes the duty of every true friend to his majesty and the country respectfully to petition his majesty to dismiss from his presence and councils for ever, all such vermin, their aiders and abettors, to restore parliaments to their constitutional duration, and to extend the elective franchise to respectable householders; to punish all those vile peculators who rob the public; and to abolish religious distinctions.—Measures which would prove a tower of strength to the throne, and be its best security against those hurricanes and earthquakes which have overturned so many whose foundation rested not in the hearts of the people.

Yours, D. I.

## JACOBIN GUINEAS.

Sir;—From the general opinion entertained of the mischief, arising from the circulation of Bank notes in lieu of guineas, I presume, there must be something of a truism in the position; and yet the evil is either so latent, or mysterious, that it seems to puzzle our most able calculators, to establish the fact. To smoothe the way, your correspondent, Mr. Thomas Bernard, has entered into some of the elementary principles of exchange and barter, in the statement of which he seems tolerably clear; but he, as well as many other gentlemen, who have handled the subject, stops at the very point in question; viz., that the circulation of paper or bank notes is injurious to commerce. Mr. Bernard observes that, if the quantity of cash and bank notes are together more than sufficient for the purposes of our commerce, the one or the other will disappear here as a superfluous commodity; and, that as the intrinsic value of the guinea, is greater than that of the note, the former will be hoarded in preference to the latter: but, yet as the accumulation of any commodity, whether gold or any thing else, must be unproductive, unless put in circulation, he concludes that the hoarder of guineas will part with them to foreigners, whenever the price they offer, proves sufficiently tempting. Now, Sir, I have one question to put to Mr. Bernard, which he will probably, for the benefit of

such a tyro as myself, have the kindness to solve; viz. from what cause it arises, that there should be so great a request on the continent for these same guineas? There was a time when guineas were sufficiently numerous to answer all the purposes of circulation here, and when that circulation was not interrupted by the seducing offers of foreigners to win the commodity from us; but now every guinea we possess is so hunted after, and such baits are held out for it by our neighbours on the continent, that even those, who are the loudest in their complaints at the scarcity of gold, are unable to resist the lure, and part with the last guinea, though the disappearance of the coin makes them so inconsolable. If it be said, that an increased population upon the continent, occasions an enlarged consumption of the conveniences of life, and that the want of a circulating medium is proportionably increased; would not the diminution of the species within the last 50 years, from the ravages of war, be an answer to the assertion? But, Sir, before this question, one of more curiosity than importance perhaps, is explained, let me observe, that it seems a little difficult, to make out, how the country is injured by the use of bank notes in lieu of gold coin. It has been at all times found necessary to have a law prohibiting the exportation of the current coin of the realm. Such a prohibition existed in the reign of Edward III. The consequence resulting from it therefore is, that the coin of this realm can only be legally circulated in the kingdom. By proclamation the value of a guinea is declared to be 21 shillings, for which it must always pass current, and a greater value cannot be lawfully demanded for it. Assuming then with Mr. Bernard, that wheat sells for 14*l.* per load, what greater advantage would the holder of guineas have by paying the 14*l.* in that coin, with the assistance of a seven-shilling-piece, than by paying for it in 14 one-pound bank notes? It is said that bank notes are depreciated, because upon the continent a guinea will exchange for 25 shillings, which 25 shillings will here purchase a one pound bank note, and a fourth part of another. Allow the guinea to have this superior value on the continent, is it equally valuable here? Will the farmer give you 25 shillings worth of wheat for a guinea? No.—What then is the injury to the proprietor of notes? The paradox, I take it, is this; all the arguments to shew the depreciation, as it is called, of bank notes, proceed upon the ground, that the prices of the various articles of commerce are all regulated by the value of gold; whereas I imagine in this country, they are regulated by the value of bank notes. A farmer knows that there is a restriction on the exchange, by the bank, of coin for their notes; can a farmer then, when he values his wheat at 14*l.* a-load, be said to estimate the value in gold, when he knows he cannot be paid in gold? Clearly not; he estimates it in bank notes; the shoemaker does the same by his shoes; all the commercial men in the country calculate by the same scale; what injury then, let me ask, does either receive from the payment being made in bank notes? I will ask Mr. Bernard, whether there is not some little quibble, in saying that notes are depreciated because guineas will pass for a greater value on the Continent than they do here. Suppose a pair of shoes to be worth in England a seven shilling piece; the seven shilling piece will pass upon the Continent, but the shoes will not; are the shoes therefore depreciated? No, they are well made shoes, and will here produce the manufacturer seven shillings: why, then, they are worth to him seven shillings.—Where is the depreciation here? A commodity is not depreciated because one man will purchase it and another will not; upon that principle there is nothing in existence but what would fall under the paradox of being both of its full value and depreciated at one and the same period. But, Sir, let us for a moment, with one charm of the pen, dissipate all the bank notes in the country. Will the guinea in consequence purchase more corn of the farmer? He will still sell his wheat at 14*l.* per load, estimating a guinea as being of the value of one shilling only beyond one of those pounds. But how, let me ask, when I have annihilated all this machinery of paper, will Mr. Barnard, or any other strong-bodied man, be able to retain what guineas there are left in the country? All the theatrical-manager-coadjutors; all the pugilistic Mendoza tribe will never have skill enough to box the guinea from the continent; for so long as it produces 25 shillings there, and only 21 here, or the worth of 21 shillings, it will take the grand-tour in spite of all opposition.—It will visit all the courts in Europe whether allies or enemies. Well then, Sir, having got rid of the paper per force; and the guineas getting rid of

themselves spontaneously, what substitute will Mr. Barnard have the goodness to invent for paper, which shall produce the holder more advantages than he before derived from that bank note, which nobody but John Bull would treat with the smallest respect. As it is quite clear, that the cause which operates in giving gold that migrating quality which it possesses at present, would incline it to take its leave of John Bull, though bank notes should be discarded, some substitute as a commercial medium must be adopted; and I can only say, that if Mr. Barnard could devise any pleasant manufacture to be obtained with the same facility as bank notes, that would prove more productive and valuable to the holder, he would entitle himself to my most unfeigned approbation, in which I am sure I should not be singular. That these observations are crude I must admit; but that the paper system is so pernicious as is in general apprehended, I confess I cannot discover. In the next letter Mr. Barnard may favour us with, the mystery will be probably unfolded. In the mean time, I am obliged to that gentleman for the letter he has already written; I am, Sir, your obedient servant, W. F. S.

*Lincoln's Inn, October 20.*

## MR. WARDLE.

PROCEEDINGS *of the* COMMON COUNCIL *of the* CITY *of* LONDON, *at Guildhall: Friday, Nov.* 3, 1809.

Mr. KEMBLE rose to make his promised motion, and began by assuring the Court, that in rising to make the motion which he was about to make, he was not influenced by any party motive whatever. He had not even consulted with any one person as to the expediency of the motion, or as to the mode in which it might best be submitted to the Court. He could, therefore, truly say, that he was the dupe of no man or set of men; he thought and acted for himself. The Court would recollect, that on the day of meeting to which his motion referred, the 1st day of August last, notice had been regularly given of a motion for that day, to rescind the Vote of Thanks to col. Wardle. The gentleman with whom that motion was to originate thought proper to abandon it, and did upon that day absent himself. With the absence or presence of any member the Court had nothing to do. Their duty was to have proceeded to the special matter before them, for which they had been particularly summoned, and in their decision upon that they should have rested; and not to have gone into the consideration of other matter, unconnected with the special business, and concerning which the majority of the Court could not have expected any discussion whatever. It was this informality of which he had to complain, in the proceedings of the Court on the 1st of August.—The Resolution for rescinding the Vote of Thanks to Mr. Wardle, was brought forward for the purpose of introducing an Amendment for confirming those Thanks, and containing a long series of Resolutions foreign to the special object of the meeting, and totally unexpected. He did not want to question the propriety or impropriety of the original Vote of Thanks to Mr. Wardle, but he thought that the gentleman who moved that string of Resolutions, would have acted more candidly, if he had openly come forward and gave due notice for a future day of his intention of moving such Resolutions; in that case the Court would not, as it actually had, been taken by surprize. His object was to vindicate the honour and character of the Court, which were impeached by proceedings, in their nature so irregular; the Resolutions ought not to be permitted to remain on their Journals, for they had been moved and carried without the due notice. He concluded with moving that the Resolutions of the 1st of August be expunged. (Which Resolutions having been read),

Mr. Box rose to second the motion, which, he said, he felt great satisfaction in doing. On the day on which the Resolutions had been moved, he had objected to them, because he thought it wrong to proceed so hurriedly and unexpectedly, in matters affecting the ministers and the first characters in the country.

Alderman GOODBEHERE said, that it would not be denied, that the motion just made had a tendency to censure the proceedings of the Court upon a former day. The Gentleman who had made it had declared that his motion was to support the character and honour of the Court. There was no questioning that assertion, nor was he disposed to discredit it, but the Gentleman had not shewed how far the honour and character of the Court had been injured by the Resolutions it was now proposed to rescind. Indeed, this part of the argument had been given up, for the Gentleman had confined himself solely to

the alleged informality, of which he had complained. The first objection seemed to be founded on the absence of the original Mover. This seemed an odd ground of objection. He could not understand why one man's neglect of duty was the reason why another should delay discharging his—or if the objection was meant to apply generally, why that the Court was not to come to a decision upon any important question while certain Gentlemen were out of town. A great deal had been said about the necessity of a notice—did the Gentleman mean to say, that the notice of an original motion did not warrant the introduction of an amendment upon that motion when made. There had been formal notice of the original motion, and an amendment had been made upon that motion, and was carried—were the proceedings of that Court to be tied down and confined to the letter of a notice? [Hear! hear!] Were they to be kept from adverting or taking advantage of any incidental circumstances that might usually arise, because such circumstances were not formally alluded to in the notice?—Were they to be prohibited from applying the remedy to the evil, if that remedy was not formally set forth in the words of a notice? This would be to give a notice the force of restricting their powers, not of regulating their proceedings—in short, would be to deprive them of all discretion. Would the Gentleman in the transacting of his mercantile business deprive his agent of all his discretion, and confine him to the mere letter of his instructions? Would he act so towards even his servant in an ordinary message? The Gentleman had acknowledged that he did not wish to disturb the decision upon the justice of Mr. Wardle's claims on the gratitude of the Court and the country, for his eminent services in the detection of public abuses—if this was the Gentleman's wish, what was the object of his present motion? Did it not, in effect, tend to disturb that decision? The Gentleman wished to remedy an informality, the informality he had not succeeded in establishing; but it was clear, that if he succeeded in his motion, the spirit of that motion would be done away, to which he had acknowledged he was not hostile. The Gentleman had declared himself not hostile to the motion of thanks, but he obviously did what he could do to rescind that vote. The Gentleman had been in the country for some time, and he (Mr. G.) was apprehensive that he had suffered somewhat by the communication. His opinions of Mr. Wardle's services had changed; this change had nothing to do with any alleged opinion as to the individual by whom they were conferred; the services were the same; but it was evident that his (Mr. K.'s) opinion was not as unchangeable; for it would be remembered that that Gentleman (Mr. K.) had been looked up to, and with great justice he believed at that time, as one of the broad banners of freedom and reform (a laugh), but now that Gentleman saw no necessity for change; he wanted nothing, and nothing he could want for any thing; the lines that had been once otherwise applied might be justly applied to him—

> "No Lord or Squire,
> Or Knight of the Shire
> Liv'd half so well,"

as the Gentleman who wants for nothing. Why the Gentleman was in such haste to evince the mistake he had fallen into about Colonel Wardle, he could not well account for, unless it was upon the principle of making his *amende honorable* to his friends on the other side, for having been guilty of thinking for himself at their expence. But it could not be doubted, that the tendency of the present motion was, to do away their tribute to the merits of Mr. Wardle. He called on the Court to consider seriously the nature of those services to which it was now proposed to make so bad a return—was it right at such a time as this to damp the ardour of those honest men who were bold enough to resist corruption? Mr. Wardle's services to the public had been of the first kind; he did not hesitate to say, that more benefit had resulted from the services of Mr. Wardle, in the last parliamentary campaign, than from all the victories by land or sea that had occurred during the late and present wars! Mr. Wardle had been assailed by the most foul and wanton calumnies. Two of them he would advert to. One was, that Mr. Wardle had not fulfilled the engagement in which he had pledged himself to the public, that of prosecuting Mrs. Clarke for perjury. To this it was a sufficient answer, that the Grand Jury had found a true Bill against Mrs. Clarke and others, for a Conspiracy; and that they found so in consequence of the unquestionable proofs of perjury committed by the parties having been laid before them. He asked then, if Mr. Wardle could be said to have failed in his pledge? The perjury could not be said to be proved

until a Jury had pronounced the final verdict; but still Mr. Wardle had lost no time, and hitherto he had acted up to the spirit, and even the letter of his pledge. The other objection was, his travelling to the coast in the company of Mrs. Clarke. The construction put on this appeared to him not warrantable. Mr. Wardle had in view a great national object: his principal instrument in effecting that was this woman. He could not have been a stranger to her character; and he wished to keep her out of the enemy's camp. The object of this journey was to keep her from *evil communication*, and the event proved that he succeeded. Mr. Wardle's private character secured him from those constructions which certain persons were anxious to put upon his conduct in this instance. It was well known that Mr. Wardle was a man of mildest manners; that in private life he was distinguished for that purity so essential to domestic happiness, and that domestic happiness he enjoyed in a degree eminently and enviably high.—Those who knew Mr. Wardle best valued him most, and those who knew his private life best valued his domestic happiness most, perhaps, most envied it. The consistency of that life was the best answer to those who would object to Mr. Wardle any unbecoming motives in his tour with Mrs. Clarke. Mr. W. could find no public honour but in promoting the true interests of his country. He never could find private happiness in any way inconsistent with his honour as a domestic man. Mr. Wardle had a family and a country, and he never had been false to either. He next alluded to the harsh manner in which, he said, Mr. Wardle had been treated in the different stages of the process. Mr. Wardle, he affirmed, had been waiting for ten days for the due notices; that he did not get them till the last of the ten, and that the Judge had in consequence signified his doubt of the legality of the instrument. The Worthy Alderman concluded, by moving the previous question.

Mr. Jacks said he must either have misunderstood the notice given by the Worthy Member, or his motion did not relate to the merits or demerits of Mr. Wardle; it related merely to the questions then for the first time introduced in the Resolutions now sought to be rescinded.

Mr. Kemble said, all he wished was, let the Worthy Alderman give notice of the propositions contained in his Resolutions, and then he should argue them, but not till then.

Mr. Jacks continued—It was not till the first notice of the present motion had been sent to the different Members of the Court, that he had read the Resolutions now under consideration. He should now take the liberty of discussing those Resolutions, paragraph by paragraph, and should consider, first, if they were founded in fact: secondly, if it was expedient for the Court to have adopted them. As to the merits of Mr. Wardle, he had nothing to say in opposition to them; the Court had come to an unanimous vote on the subject, and he saw nothing in the trial which ought to induce them to alter that decision. Some of the paragraphs of the Resolutions which the Court had lately passed seemed to him to require serious consideration. In the second paragraph it was alledged, that the abuses complained of had extended to the disposal of Church preferments. Now, he submitted, that no detection of the kind could be fairly attributed to Col. Wardle. Mention had, indeed, been made of a Dr. O'Meara, and of a wretched parson of the name of Beazley, who wrote in favour of "No Popery;" but their cases were far from warranting the charge of the corrupt disposal of Church preferments. The Court, therefore, was without proof on this point. The Resolution then went on to implicate Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Perceval, and Mr. H. Wellesley, in the corrupt and illegal traffic charged in the Resolution, and quoted the words of the Speaker of the House of Commons on that subject. Now, he took it to be an established principle of British justice, that criminality must be proved before it could be taken as granted. Here charges had been brought forward; but, certainly, no proof had been adduced in support of them. He then turned to the Morning Chronicle of the 7th June, and from thence quoted the words used by the Speaker, which, he contended, applied not to the then actual state of the House of Commons, but simply to declare, that, if the practice which he there referred to should at any time become prevalent, "it would bring a greater scandal upon the Parliament and the Nation than this Country had ever known since Parliament had an existence." In the following part of the paragraph in which reference is made to Lords Castlereagh and Clancarty, he cordially agreed, and declared, that in Parliamentary His-

tory he had not read a more direct interference in the disposal of Seats in Parliament. When the Worthy Alderman however, went on to state that the House of Commons, by its conduct, "had recognized and acknowledged the corrupt influence under which it had been called together, and exercised its functions," he could not help thinking, that he had greatly gone beyond that line of respect to Parliament which it was his duty to have observed. Did the worthy Alderman mean to say, that the Members for the City of London; that those for the City and Liberties of Westminster, that those for the County of Middlesex—or that those for the Borough of Southwark, were returned through corrupt influence? He admitted, that there were Boroughs which were corrupt, but the Resolution, as it stood, conveyed a charge of a similar nature against the whole House of Commons. No man, he declared, detested corruption more than he did. He hoped, too, there was no man had a greater detestation of vice, taken in an abstract sense. He believed corruption to be as inherent in Public Bodies, as vice was in the mind of man. Each of these, therefore, required every effort that could be used to restrain, if not to eradicate them. Corruption, like the vicious habits of the mind, when they got beyond certain bounds, led on to evils which again naturally produced disease. This, we would find, had been the case in every age. Lord Bacon, the Father of Modern Philosophy, was guilty of receiving bribes, as Lord Chancellor. It had been found as early after the Revolution as the year 1694, by a Committee of the House of Commons, that 90,000*l.* had been spent in bribes, for the purpose of insuring the passing of a Bill. To Sir J. Trevor, the then Speaker, 1,000*l.* had been given, who was so much ashamed, that he afterwards absented himself from the House. At the same time the House of Commons impeached the Duke of Leeds for receiving a bribe of 5,000*l.* on the same account. Sir W. Pulteney declared, in his time, that corruption had come to so high a pitch in the State, that our Constitution could not long stand. Thirty years, however, had since elapsed, and we still remained as entire and unbroken as at the moment the words were spoken. Sir W. Windham had declared in 1740, that he had alluded to the corrupt state of our Boroughs, and yet the present Resolution held out only 200 Seats in Parliament as being dependent on the Government. It appeared, therefore, that we were not now so corrupt as we were then. It was not his wish to screen corruption. The public mind, however, was too much worked on. Who had discovered Lord Melville, Davison, Jones, &c.?—Committees of the House of Commons—of that very Body here declared to be so corrupt in its formation, and in the discharge of its functions. The worthy gentleman proceeded to the other parts of the Resolution, and by again referring to the Morning Chronicle, argued that the idea of a Public Office for the Sale of Offices was absurd, and its detection not attributable to Mr. Wardle. He also referred to Mr. Wardle's projected diminution of the army, and contended that this was a proposition highly inexpedient and injurious to the country at such a period. On these grounds, he thought the majority of the paragraphs of the Resolution not exactly correct. He presumed the worthy alderman had meant the whole rather as notes for a speech, than as the digested words of a Resolution. The question then was, if these were only crude and unsupported averments, ought they, without proof, to receive the sanction of that corporation? He called on every man who detested anarchy and confusion—on all those who were the friends of rational liberty, to reflect how this country could exist, if, as the Resolution seemed to imply, no confidence was to be placed in any of their public men. If so, what remained for them but to resolve into their crude state, and take the government into their own hands; or, like other States, to come under the dominion of a Foreign Power. Gentlemen talked of the changes in the opinions of men; but was this peculiar to the present day? Had not Pitt been the greatest Reformer, and did he not afterwards change his opinion? Mr. Fox coalesced with Lord North, and called him his Noble Friend. Mr. Burke, too, had changed his opinions; and why should this be conceived such a crime at present. He was decidedly of opinion, that there was now more danger from the inroads of the People, than from the prerogative of the Crown. *(To be continued.)*

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## OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AUSTRIA.—*Treaty of Peace between France and Austria, Oct.* 15, 1809.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor

of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, &c. Having seen and considered the Treaty concluded, determined, and signed at Vienna, on the 14th of this month, by the Sieur Nompere de Champagny, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, in virtue of the full powers to that end given him by us, and the Prince John of Lichtenstein, Marshal of the Armies of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, equally provided with full powers—which Treaty is of the following tenor;—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, Mediator of the League of Switzerland; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, being equally animated with the desire of putting an end to the war which has arisen between them, have resolved to negociate forthwith a Definitive Treaty of Peace, and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries namely:—His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, the Sieur Jean Baptiste Nompere Count de Champagny, Duke of Cadore, Grand Eagle Bearer of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of the Iron Crown, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew of Russia, Grand Dignitary of that of the Two Sicilies, Grand Cross of the Orders of the Black and Red Eagles of Prussia, of the Order of St. Joseph of Wurtzburg, of the Order of Fidelity of Baden, of the Order of Hesse Darmstadt, his said Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Prince John of Lichtenstein, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Order of Maria Theresa, Chamberlain, Marshal of the Armies of his said Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and Proprietary Commander of a Regiment of Horse in his service.—Who having previously exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Art. I. There shall, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, be peace and friendship between his Majesty the Emperor of the French King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, their Heirs and Successors, their States and Subjects respectively, for ever.

II. The present peace is also declared to be common to his Majesty the King of Spain, his Majesty the King of Holland, his Majesty the King of Naples, his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his Majesty the King of Wirtemburg, his Majesty the King of Saxony, and his Majesty the King of Westphalia, his Most Eminent Highness the Prince Primate, their Royal Highnesses the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstardt, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and all the Princes and Members of the League of the Rhine, the Allies, in the present war, of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine.

III. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, cedes, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the Princes of his House, their heirs and respective Successors, the principalities, lordships, domains, and territories, herein-after mentioned, and also all titles which may accrue from the possession of the same; and all properties, whether manorial or held by them under an especial title, lying within the said territories.

1. He cedes and transfers to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to form a part of the League of the Rhine, and to be placed at his disposition for the interest of the Sovereigns of the League:—The territories of Saltzburgh and Berchtolsgaden; that part of Upper Austria, situate on the further side of a line running from the Danube, at the village of Straas, therein comprehending Weissenkirch, Wedersdorff, Michelbach, Greist, Muckenhoffen, Helst and Jedina; thence in the direction of Schwandstadt, the town of Schwandstadt on the Aller, and thence ascending along the bank of that river, and the lake of the same name, to the point where the lake touches upon the territory of Saltzburg.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall only retain in property the Woods belonging to the Salz-Cammer-Gut, and forming part of the manor of Mondsee, with liberty to cut and carry thence the brushwood, but without enjoying any right of Sovereignty upon that territory.—2. He also cedes to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, the County of Goritia, the Manor of Montefalcone, the Government and City of Trieste, Carniola, with its dependencies on the Gulf of Trieste, the Circle of Willach, in Carinthia, and all the territories lying on the right bank of the Save, from the point where that river

leaves Carniola, along its course to where it touches the frontiers of Bosnia; namely a part of Provincial Croatia, six districts of Military Croatia, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littorale, Austrian Istria, or the district of Castua, the islands depending on the ceded territories, and all other territories, howsoever named, upon the right bank of the Save; the middle stream of the said river serving as the boundary between the two States.—Lastly, the Lordship of Radzuns lying in the Graubunderland.—3. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the King of Saxony, the territory of Bohemia depending upon, and included in the territory of the Kingdom of Saxony, namely, the parishes and villages of Guntersdorff, Taubantranke, Gerlochsheim, Lenkersdorf, Schirgiswald, Winkel, &c.—4. He cedes and makes over to the King of Saxony, to be united to the Duchy of Warsaw, the whole of Wester or New Gallicia, a district round Cracow, on the right bank of the Vistula, to be hereafter ascertained, and the Circle of Zamosc in Eastern Gallicia.—The district round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula, shall in the direction of Podgorze, have for its circumference the distance from Podgorze to Wieliczka. The line of demarkation shall pass through Wieliczka, and to the westward touch upon Scawina, and to the eastward upon the Beek, which falls into the Vistula at Brzdegy.—Wieliczka and the whole of the territory of the Salt-pits shall belong in common to the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Saxony. Justice shall be administered therein in the name of the Municipal Power; there shall be quartered there only the troops necessary for the support of the Police, and they shall consist of equal numbers of those of both nations. The Austrian Salt from Wieliczka, in its conveyance over the Vistula, and through the Duchy of Warsaw, shall not be subject to any toll-duties. Corn of all kinds, raised in Austrian Gallicia, may also be freely exported across the Vistula. —His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, may form such an arrangement with regard to these boundaries, as that the Save, from the point where it touches upon the Circle of Zamosc, to its confluence with the Vistula, shall serve as the line of demarcation between both states.—5. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in the eastermost part of Gallicia, a tract of territory containing a population of 400,000 souls, the city of Brodi being, nevertheless, not therein included. This territory shall be amicably ascertained by Commissioners on the part of both Empires.

IV. The Teutonic Order having been abolished in the States of the League of the Rhine, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, in the name of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Anthony, abdicates the Grand Mastership of that Order in his States, and recognizes the dispositions taken with regard to the property of the Order, locally situated out of the Austrian territory. Pensions shall be assigned to those who have been on the civil establishment of the Order.

V. The debts funded upon the territory of the ceded provinces and allowed by the States of the said provinces, or accruing from expences incurred for their Administration, shall alone follow the fate of those provinces.

VI. The provinces which are to be restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, shall be administered for his behoof by the Austrian Constituted Authorities, from the day of exchanging the Ratification of the present Treaty; and the Imperial Domains, wheresoever situated, from the 1st of November next. It is nevertheless understood, that the French army in this country shall take for their use whatever articles cannot be supplied by their magazines for the subsistence of the troops and the wants of the hospitals; and also whatever shall be necessary for the conveyance of their sick, and the evacuation of the magazines. — An arrangement shall be made between the High Contracting Parties respecting all war contributions, of whatever denomination, previously imposed on the Austrian provinces occupied by the French and allied troops; in consequence of which arrangement the levying of the said contributions shall cease from the day of the exchange of the Ratifications.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages to give no obstruction to the importation or exportation of merchandize into and from Austria, by way of the port of Fiume; this, nevertheless, not being construed to include English goods or manufactures. The transit duties on the goods thus imported or exported, shall be lower than upon those of all other nations, the kingdom of Italy excepted. An inquiry shall be instituted, to ascertain whether any ad-

vantages can be allowed to the Austrian trade, in the other ports ceded by this Treaty.

VIII. The titles of domains, archives, plans and maps of the countries, towns, and fortresses ceded, shall be given up within two months after the period of the Ratification.

IX. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, engages to discharge the yearly interest, arrears, and capitals, invested in securities of the Government, States, Bank, Lottery, or other public establishments, by subjects, companies, or corporate bodies in France, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Grand Duchy of Berg.—Measures shall also be taken, to completely liquidate the sum due to Mont St. Theresa, now Mont Napoleon, at Milan.

X. His Majesty the Emperor of the French engages to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg, who have taken a part in the insurrection; so that they shall not be prosecuted either in person or property.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria equally engages to grant a full and complete pardon to those inhabitants of the territories of Gallicia, of which he returns into possession, whether civil or military, public officers, or private individuals, who have taken part in the levying of troops, or the formation of judicial or municipal administrations; or in any other proceeding whatsoever during the war, which inhabitants shall not be prosecuted in their persons or property.—They shall have permission, during a period of six years, to dispose of their properties, of whatever description they may be; to sell their estates, even those that have been considered inalienable, such as *fidei commissa* and *majoratus;* to leave the country, and to carry with them the produce of these sales, in specie, or effects of any other description, without paying any duty for the same, or experiencing any difficulty or obstruction.—The same permission, and for the same period, shall be reciprocally allowed to the inhabitants and landholders in the territories ceded by the present treaty.—The inhabitants of the Dutchy of Warsaw, possessing landed estates in Austrian Gallicia, whether public officers or private individuals, shall enjoy the revenues thereof, without paying any duty thereon, or experiencing any obstruction.

XI. Within six weeks, from the exchange of the present Treaty, posts shall be erected, to mark the boundaries of Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula. For this purpose there shall be nominated Austrian, French, and Saxon Commissioners.—The same measures shall be adopted within the same period upon the frontiers of Upper Austria, Saltzburgh, Willach, and Carniola, as far as the Saave. The Thalweg (stream) of the Saave shall determine what islands of that river shall belong to each power. For this purpose French and Austrian Commissaries shall be nominated.

XII. A military Convention shall be forthwith entered into, to regulate the respective periods within which the various provinces restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall be evacuated. The said Convention shall be adjusted on the basis, that Moravia shall be evacuated in fourteen days; that part of Gallicia which remains in possession of Austria, the city and district of Vienna, in one month; Lower Austria in two months; and the remaining districts and territories not ceded by this Treaty shall be evacuated by the French troops, and those of their allies, in two months and a half, or earlier if possible, from the exchange of the ratifications.—This Convention shall regulate all that relates to the evacuation of the hospitals and magazines of the French army, and the entrance of the Austrian troops into the territories evacuated by the French or their allies; and also the evacuation of that part of Croatia ceded by the present Treaty to his Majesty the Emperor of the French.

XIII. The prisoners of war taken by France and her Allies from Austria, and by Austria from France and her Allies, that have not yet been released, shall be given up within fourteen days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty.

XIV. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, guarantees the inviolability of the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the state in which they shall be, in consequence of the present Treaty.

XV. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria recognizes all the alterations which have taken place, or may subsequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

XVI. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, desirous to co-operate in the restora-

tion of a maritime peace, accedes to the prohibitory system with respect to England, adopted by France and Russia, during the present Maritime War. His Imperial Majesty shall break off all intercourse with Great Britain, and, with respect to the English government, place himself in the situation he stood in previous to the present war.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall observe, with respect to each other, the same ceremonial in regard to rank and other points of etiquette, as before the present war.

XVIII. The Ratifications of the present Treaty shall be exchanged within six days, or sooner, if possible.

Done and signed at Vienna, Oct. 14, 1809.
(Signed) J. B. NOMPERE DE CHAMPAGNY.
JOHN Prince of LICHTENSTEIN.

We have ratified, and hereby ratify the above Treaty, in all and every of the articles therein contained; declare the same to be adopted, confirmed, and established; and engage that the same shall be maintained inviolable.—In confirmation whereof we have hereto affixed our signature, with our own hand, being countersigned and sealed with our Imperial Seal.—Given at our Imperial Camp at Schoenbrunn, Oct. 15, 1809. (Signed)——NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor.—CHAMPAGNY, Minister for Foreign Affairs.—H. B. MARET, Minister Secretary of State.

Certified by us, The Arch-Chancellor of State, EUGENE NAPOLEON.

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To such Gentlemen as may happen to be in possession of curious Trials, or of documents relating to Trials of the description of those to be contained in this Work, I shall be much obliged for a communication of them. If the document, or paper, whether in print or manuscript, be requested to be preserved, great care shall be taken of it.

Of the 185 Trials or Proceedings of which the first Four Volumes consist, *eighty-nine* never before came into any Collection. The following is a list of the articles contained in the FOURTH Volume:

*** *The New Matter is marked* [*N*].

151. Proceedings in Parliament against John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, Lord Keeper, for High Treason, A. D. 1640.
152. Proceedings in Parliament against Dr. John Cosin, a Delinquent, 1640. [N.]
153. Proceedings against Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, on an Impeachment for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1640. [N.]
154. Proceedings in Parliament against Sir Francis Windebank, Knt. Secretary of State, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1640. [N.]
155. Proceedings against Sir George Ratcliff, Knt. on an Impeachment for High Treason, 1640. [N.]
156. Impeachment of Sir Richard Bolton, Knt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland; Dr. John Bramhall,

Lord Bishop of Derry; Sir Gerard Lowther, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Sir George Ratcliffe, Knt. before the House of Lords in Ireland, 1641.

157. Proceedings against John Goodman, a Seminary Priest, condemned for High Treason, 1641. [N.]

158. Proceedings against Twelve Bishops; namely, Dr. John Williams Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomas Moreton Bishop of Durham, Dr. Robert Wright Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, Dr. Joseph Hall Bishop of Norwich, Dr. John Owen Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Robert Skinner Bishop of Oxford, Dr. William Piers Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. George Coke Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely, Dr. Godfrey Goodman Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. John Warner Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. Morgan Owen Bishop of Llandaff, upon an Accusation of High Treason, 1641. [N.]

159. Proceedings, by the King's Command, upon Charges of High Treason and other High Misdemeanors, against Lord Kimbolton and Five Members of the House of Commons; namely, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Bart. Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode, 1641. [N.]

160. Proceedings in Parliament against James Duke of Richmond, as a Malignant and an Evil Counsellor to the King, 1641-2. [N.]

161. Proceedings against Sir Edward Herbert, Knt. the King's Attorney General upon an Impeachment for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1642. [N.]

162. Impeachment of George Lord Digby, eldest Son of the Earl of Bristol, for High Treason, 1642. [N.]

163. Impeachment of Mr. George Benyon, Citizen of London, for contriving a Petition against the Ordinance for the Militia, 1642. [N.]

164. Impeachment of Sir Edward Dering, Knt. for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1642. [N.]

165. Proceedings against Sir Richard Gurney, Knt. and Bart. Lord Mayor of London, on an Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1642. [N.]

166. Articles of Impeachment against Sir Thomas Gardiner, Recorder of the City of London, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, A. D. 1642. [N.]

167. Impeachment of Henry Hastings, Esq. (second Son to the Earl of Huntingdon), Sir Richard Halford, Sir John Bale, and John Pate, Esq. for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1642. [N.]

168. Impeachment of James Lord Strange, for High Treason, A. D. 1642. [N.]

169. Proceedings against the Nine Lords at York; namely, Spencer Earl of Northampton, William Earl of Devonshire, Henry Earl of Dover, Henry Earl of Monmouth, Charles Lord Howard of Charlton, Robert Lord Rich, Charles Lord Grey of Ruthven, Thomas Lord Coventry, and Arthur Lord Capel, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1642. [N.]

170. The Trial of Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, before a Council of War at St. Alban's, for cowardly surrendering the City and Castle of Bristol, 1643.

171. The Trial of Dr. William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, for High Treason, 1640, 1644.

172. Proceedings against Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Waller, Mr. Challoner, and others, before a Council of War, for a Plot against the Parliament, 1643. [N.]

173. The Trial of Connor Lord Macguire, at the King's Bench, for High Treason, in being concerned in the Irish Massacre, 1645.

174. Proceedings upon a Charge of Breach of the Trust reposed in them by the Parliament, preferred against Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitelocke by the Lord Savile, 1645. [N.]

175. The Trial of Sir Robert Spotiswood, President of the College of Justice in Scotland, and Secretary there to King Charles I. for High Treason, in the Parliament held at St. Andrews, November, December, and January, 1645.

176. The several Informations, Examinations, and Confessions of the Witches, arraigned and condemned at the Sessions holden at Chelmsford, in the County of Essex, before the Right Hon. Robert Earl of Warwick, and several of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, 1645. [N.]

177. Proceedings against Eleven Members of the House of Commons, viz. Denzil Hollis, Esq. Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Wm. Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Wm. Waller, Sir Jn. Maynard, Knts. Major-General Massey; Mr. Glynn, Recorder of London; Walter Long, Esq. Colonel Edward Harley, and Anthony Nicholls, Esq. charged by Sir Thomas Fairfax and his Army, to be Delinquents, 1647. [N.]

178. The Case of David Jenkins, Esq. a Welch Judge, for publishing Seditious Books, and for passing Sentence of Death on Persons for not assisting against the Parliament, 1647. [N.]

179. Two Judgments of the Lords assembled in Parliament against John Morris, alias Poyntz, Mary his Wife, Isabel Smith, Leonard Darby, and John Harris, for forging, framing, and publishing a Copy of a pretended Act of Parliament, 1647.

180. Proceedings upon a Charge of High Treason against Sir John Gayre, Knight, Mayor of the City of London; Thomas Cullam, Alderman, and one of the Sheriffs of London; and James Bunce, John Langham, Thomas Adams, Aldermen of London, for countenancing and abetting Force and Tumults against the House of Commons, 1647. [N.]

181. Proceedings against the Seven Lords, namely, John Earl of Suffolk, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, John Lord Hunsden, William Lord Maynard, Theobald Earl of Lincoln, George Lord Berkeley, and James Earl of Middlesex, upon an Impeachment of High Treason, for levying War against the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, 1647. [N.]

182. The Trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, before the High Court of Justice, for High Treason, 1649.

183. The Trial of James Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Cambridge, before the High Court of Justice, for High Treason, 1649.

184. Proceedings against the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, for High Treason, 1651. [N.]

185. The Trial of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, for High Treason, 1649.

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